

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

S E C R E T STATE 210367

FOLLOWING REPEAT ISLAMABAD 08113 ACTION SECSTATE INFO TEHRAN  
USCINCEUR SECDEF CINCPAC DTD 03 SEP

QTE

S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 8113

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, IR, PK

SUBJECT: ARMS FOR PAKISTAN

REF: TEHRAN 8396 AND ISLAMABAD 8035

1. I WAS ABLE TO SEE BHUTTO IN KARACHI ON THE EVE OF  
HIS DEPARTURE FOR SAUDI ARABIA AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO  
DISCUSS THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFERS OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT  
AND BETTER COORDINATION BETWEEN US ON THIS SUBJECT AROSE  
QUICKER THAN I HAD ANTICIPATED. I USED THIS OCCASION  
ALSO TO ACQUAINT HIM WITH SOME OF OUR DIFFICULTIES OF  
COORDINATION PROBLEMS HERE LOCALLY, I ASSUMED BECAUSE OF  
COMPARTMENTALIZATION WITHIN HIS DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT  
DUE TO A DESIRE OF MAINTAINING SECRECY. HE WILL TAKE  
STEPS TO SMOOTH OUR PROCEDURES.

2. IN TALKING ABOUT THE THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFERS PROBLEM

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I CITED THE FACT THAT AZIZ AHMED HAD PASSED PAKISTAN'S

CURRENT SHOPPING LIST COMPRISED ALMOST ENTIRELY EQUIPMENT OF U.S. ORIGIN TO THE IRANIANS, AND WE DID NOT KNOW ABOUT IT UNTIL WE AND WASHINGTON WERE NOTIFIED BY OUR PEOPLE IN TEHRAN. THIS COULD PRESENT A CONFUSING PICTURE TO WASHINGTON, AS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, IT COULD BE CONSTRUED TO APPEAR THAT BOTH WE AND IRAN HAD BEEN ASKED TO PROVIDE THE SAME EQUIPMENT, ALTHOUGH I ASSUMED THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. HE SHOWED CONSIDERABLE IRRITATION THAT THIS HAD HAPPENED, SAYING THAT HE HAD QUESTIONED AZIZ AHMED CLOSELY ON THE NEED TO GIVE THIS EXACT LIST OF EQUIPMENT TO IRAN, BUT HAD FINALLY ACCEDED TO HIS REQUEST TO DO SO UPON THE ARGUMENT BY AZIZ THAT IT WOULD HELP OBTAIN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM IRAN, AND AS IRANIAN ARMED SERVICE OFFICIALS HAD TOLD HIM IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THEY COULD HAVE THE LIST. IN GIVING HIS ASSENT HE HAD JUST ASSUMED THAT I WOULD BE INFORMED. HE REMARKED PARENTHETICALLY THAT IF HE WERE STILL RUNNING THE FOREIGN OFFICE SUCH A THING WOULD NOT HAVE HAPPENED. I TOLD HIM THAT AGHA SHAHI HAD TOLD ME THE FOREIGN OFFICE DID NOT KNOW ABOUT IT EITHER. BHUTTO BLEW HIS TOP.

3. I TOLD BHUTTO I WAS EXTREMELY EAGER NOT TO BE MISUNDERSTOOD ON THIS SUBJECT. I PERSONALLY FELT THAT PAKISTANI DEFENSE NEEDED HELP. IF PART OF THAT HELP COULD COME FROM IRAN, SO MUCH THE BETTER, AS IT WOULD HELP MEET THEIR NEEDS AND HAVE THE ADDITIONAL BENEFIT OF CLOSER PAKISTAN-IRANIAN WORKING RELATIONS. NEITHER, I SAID, DID I SEE ANYTHING WRONG WITH GIVING THE LIST TO IRAN, IF THEY HAD USED IT AS AN ARGUMENT TO OBTAIN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. I FURTHER WOULD SEE NOTHING WRONG IN ASKING THE IRANIANS TO SEE IF THEY COULD FURNISH FROM THEIR STOCKS ANY ITEMS ON THE LIST, AS THIS MIGHT SAVE PAKISTAN BOTH TIME AND MONEY. IN DOING SO, HOWEVER, ADEQUATE REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE THAT IF THE ITEMS WERE OF U.S. ORIGIN OUR APPROVAL SHOULD BE SOUGHT.

4. BHUTTO REFERRED TO OUR PREVIOUS TALKS ON THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFERS. HE REMINDED ME THAT IN THE TWO YEARS

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OR SO BEFORE OUR CHANGE IN POLICY RE THE ARMS EMBARGO, HIGH AMERICAN OFFICIALS HAD TOLD THEM FROM TIME TO TIME THAT SUCH A POLICY CHANGE, WHEN IT CAME, WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFERS. THERE HAD NATURALLY THEREFORE BEEN ANTICIPATION IN THIS DIRECTION ONCE THE EMBARGO WAS LIFTED. THERE HAD BEEN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SHAH WHO HAD ASKED WHETHER OR NOT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO HAVE IRAN ITSELF PURCHASE THE EQUIPMENT FOR

TRANSFER TO PAKISTAN. BHUTTO SAID HE HAD ACCEPTED MY PREVIOUS ADVICE AGAINST THIS METHOD FOR THE ACQUISITION OF NEW EQUIPMENT WHEN I SAID THAT OPEN AND DIRECT DEALINGS WOULD BE BEST FOR ALL CONCERNED.

5. I EXPANDED FURTHER SAYING THAT I DID NOT WANT HIM TO BELIEVE WE WERE AGAINST THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFERS OR USED OR SURPLUS EQUIPMENT PROVIDED OUR PROCEDURES COULD BE SCRUPULOUSLY COMPLIED WITH, AND THIS LED TO THE PROBLEM OF COORDINATION. I SAID THAT NOTICE HAD TO BE GIVEN OF SUCH TRANSFERS WITH VARIOUS COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS AND THE WRITTEN CASE HAD TO BE PROPERLY PREPARED IF THE PROPER PROCEDURES WERE FOLLOWED, AND IF THE EQUIPMENT WAS OF CATEGORIES WHICH WE COULD APPROVE FOR DIRECT SALE TO PAKISTAN AS A MATTER OF POLICY, THE CHANCES WERE VERY GOOD INDEED THAT WE WOULD HAVE NO CONGRESSIONAL PROBLEM PROVIDED WE MADE A FULL AND OPEN DISCLOSURE TO THEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH CURRENT PERTINENT UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES.

6. BHUTTO SAID HE UNDERSTOOD COMPLETELY AND HE WOULD SEE THAT OTHERS FOLLOWED THIS ADVICE. HE SAID HE WAS GLAD OF THIS TALK BEFORE GOING TO SAUDI ARABIA SO AS TO HAVE THESE THINGS CURRENTLY IN MIND IN HIS TALKS THERE.

7. RETURNING TO OUR OWN PROCEDURES AND COORDINATION, WE WILL OF COURSE CONTINUE TO WORK ON THE DIRECT PURCHASE LISTS THAT PAKISTAN HAS GIVEN US AND, AS P AND A DATA IS RECEIVED, PROCESS THEIR POLICY APPROVED CASES THROUGH TO PURCHASE ORDERS AS THEY ARE ABLE TO SIGN PURCHASE ORDERS BASED UPON AVAILABLE FINANCE.

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ON THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFERS, WE WOULD EXPECT THAT OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD SEEK USG CONCURRENCE (AS THEY ARE OBLIGED TO DO UNDER OUR AGREEMENTS WITH THEM) THROUGH OUR MISSIONS IN THEIR CAPITALS IF THEY THEMSELVES SEE THEIR WAY CLEAR TO TRANSFER EQUIPMENT OF U.S. ORIGIN FROM THEIR COUNTRY TO PAKISTAN. EMBASSY ISLAMABAD SHOULD, OF COURSE, BE AN ADDRESSEE ON ANY CABLED TRAFFIC PERTINENT THERETO. WE HERE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH MY DISCUSSION WITH BHUTTO, WOULD EXPECT THE PAKS TO ALSO INFORM US OF ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH OTHERS ABOUT TRANSFERRING EQUIPMENT OF U.S. ORIGIN TO PAKISTAN AS EARLY IN THE PROCESS AS POSSIBLE. IF THE TRANSFER APPEARS FEASIBLE TO US, AND NOT OUT OF LINE WITH OUR POLICY GUIDELINES, WE WILL THEN FURNISH SUCH DATA AND INFORMATION FROM HERE AS WOULD ASSIST THE DEPARTMENT

AND THE EMBASSY IN THE SUPPLYING COUNTRY IN HANDLING THE SPECIFICS OF THE CASE. THE DEPARTMENT WILL OF COURSE MAKE THE FINAL DETERMINATION. IF THE ITEM HAD EARLIER APPEARED ON OUR LIST FOR DIRECT PURCHASE IT WOULD BE DROPPED THEREFROM ONCE THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFER HAD BEEN MADE.

8. IF DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN THIS APPROACH, IT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER REPEATED THIS MESSAGE TO EMBASSY JIDDA.  
BYROADE UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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